

Tony Williams

13 November 1985

NOTE FOR: DCI

SUBJECT: NSC Meeting

Attached is some additional material prepared by SOVA for your NSC meeting today.

*Mary,
This should go in
the NSC Mtg Hold
book.
TW*

MEMORANDUM FOR: [REDACTED]

STAT

Attached is a quick and dirty update on the Soviet handling of the President's regional initiative.

STAT

[REDACTED] has probably alerted you. We thought it might be of interest given this afternoon's meeting. The cable that the embassy in Moscow filed on the same communique was a bit more strident than this piece-- we think they may have gone a bit overboard and over interpreted the communique's language. In any case, the Soviets did implicitly reject Reagan's proposals. This piece was done by [REDACTED] in my shop. If there are any questions, contact him or me on [REDACTED]

STAT

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SOVA/TWA/RP

PS: We are attaching the state cable(annotated) & a copy of the communique.

Date 13 Nov. 1985

SOVA Analysis of Soviet-Ethiopian Joint Communique

A joint Soviet-Ethiopian communique at the conclusion of Chairman Mengistu's week-long visit to the USSR reaffirmed their close bilateral relations and went on to claim that the US was responsible for regional tensions, implicitly dismissing the US regional initiative at the UN.

- The communique expressed both sides' satisfaction with "the steady development and deepening" of bilateral ties, and called for further improvement in economic and cultural relations. It also highlighted Soviet approval of the activities of the Worker's Party of Ethiopia.
- Moscow and Addis Ababa affirmed their "complete identity of views" on international issues, expressing support for Soviet positions on arms negotiations, Southern Africa, the declaration of a nuclear-free zone in Africa, and international conferences on the Middle East and the Indian Ocean.

The Soviets used the Mengistu visit communique for several purposes:

- They reaffirmed the close ties between Moscow and Addis Ababa, placing Mengistu's regime -- one of the five Soviet client states explicitly criticized by President Reagan in his UN address -- at the top of the list of Moscow's allies in Africa.
- They reiterated their opposition to the positions voiced in the US United Nations initiative.
- They put forward a long list of their own regional positions and initiatives, probably in order to reassert their own prerogatives on the Third World agenda and head off any momentum the US might gain from the UN proposals.

MSGNO 13 (STXX) *11/12/85* *22:33:26.7.3*
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RUEHKH/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM 0265
RUEHMG/AMEMBASSY MOGADISHU 0549
RUEHNR/AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 0839
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 3888

BT

EZ1:

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 16104

EZ2:

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, ET, UR

SUBJECT: MENGISTU VISIT TO USSR

C O N F I D E N T I A L

REF: (A) MOSCOW 15759, (B) 84 MOSCOW 16129 AND PREVIOUS

1. (C) SUMMARY: ETHIOPIAN LEADER MENGISTU NOVEMBER 9 COMPLETED 10-DAY VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH WAS LONG ON PROTOCOLARY TREATMENT FOR MENGISTU AND A STRONG COMMUNIQUE IMPLICITLY REJECTING PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REGIONAL INITIATIVE, BUT--JUDGING SO FAR FROM PRESS REPORTS--SHORT ON CONCRETE STEPS IN DEVELOPING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. END SUMMARY.

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PROTOCOL ASPECTS -- LAYING ON THE RED CARPET

2. (U) THE SOVIETS GAVE MENGISTU RED CARPET TREATMENT THROUGHOUT HIS VISIT. A PLETHORA OF SENIOR SOVIET OFFICIALS PARTICIPATED IN THE VARIOUS ACTIVITIES PLANNED FOR MENGISTU. POLITBURO MEMBER AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS RYZHKOV, FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE, AND POLITBURO CANDIDATE MEMBER AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY PONOMAREV MET MENGISTU ON ARRIVAL OCTOBER 31 AND SAW HIM OFF AT HIS DEPARTURE NOVEMBER 9. IN ADDITION, MENGISTU MET WITH A VARIETY OF SENIOR SOVIET OFFICIALS, INCLUDING GORBACHEV, RYZHKOV, SHEVARDNADZE, GOSPLAN CHAIRMAN AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN TALYZIN, AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE ARISTOV. MINISTER OF DEFENSE SOKOLOV WAS ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN A NUMBER OF PROTOCOLARY ACTIVITIES DURING THE VISIT, THUS SUGGESTING THAT ARMS SUPPLY QUESTIONS MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED. MOREOVER, THE SOVIETS HONORED MENGISTU BY INVITING HIM TO SIT ON THE TRIBUNE WITH SOVIET POLITBURO MEMBERS DURING KGB CHAIRMAN CHEBRIKOV'S NOVEMBER 6 REVOLUTION DAY SPEECH AND TO REVIEW THE NOVEMBER 7 MILITARY PARADE WITH THE LEADERSHIP ATOP LENIN'S TOMB.

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AGREEMENTS

3. (U) ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, ONLY ONE AGREEMENT--ON TRADE--WAS SIGNED DURING MENGISTU'S VISIT. THAT WAS A PROTOCOL ON BILATERAL TRADE FOR 1986. A TASS REPORT PUBLISHED IN THE CENTRAL PRESS NOVEMBER 7 STATED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD SUPPLY MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT, OIL, PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, ROLLED FERROUS METALS, MEDICINES, AND CONSUMER GOODS, WHILE ETHIOPIA WOULD EXPORT A BROAD RANGE OF RAW MATERIALS AND PRODUCTS OF ETHIOPIA'S "DEVELOPING NATIONAL INDUSTRY" TO THE SOVIET UNION.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

THE COMMUNIQUE

4. (U) PRAVDA NOVEMBER 12 PUBLISHED JOINT SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN COMMUNIQUE WHICH IS NOTEWORTHY FOR THE RANGE OF ISSUES IT ENCOMPASSES, FOR THE IDENTITY OF VIEWS IT PROCLAIMS, AND FOR THE RECIPROCAL PRAISE GIVEN BY EACH SIDE TO THE EFFORTS AND POLICIES OF THE OTHER. INTER ALIA:
--THE SOVIETS PRAISED THE ETHIOPIAN WORKERS PARTY'S SUCCESS IN DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENSE OF ETHIOPIA AND ITS ACTIVE ANTI-IMPERIALIST COURSE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS;
--THE ETHIOPIANS PRAISED SOVIET DOMESTIC POLICIES, THE SOVIETS "DECISIVE ROLE" IN DEFENDING UNIVERSAL PEACE AND PREVENTING NUCLEAR WAR; EXPRESSED DEEP THANKFULNESS FOR SOVIET ASSISTANCE; AND EXPRESSED COMPLETE SUPPORT FOR SOVIET ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS AND THE PRINCIPLED
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, ET, UR
SUBJECT: MENGISTU VISIT TO USSR
POSITION OF THE SOVIETS ON THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF PRESIDENT REAGAN WITH GORBACHEV.
--THEY PATTED EACH OTHER ON THE BACK FOR: THE INEXORABLE DEVELOPMENT AND DEEPENING OF BILATERAL RELATIONS; THE FRUITFUL AND GROWING SIGNIFICANCE OF CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CPSU AND THE ETHIOPIAN WORKERS' PARTY; AND THE POSITIVE RESULTS OF THE SIXTH MEETING OF THE INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COMMISSION ON ECONOMICS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, AND TRADE.

5. (U) ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, THE TWO SIDES:
--CONDEMNED "IMPERIALIST" STATES' POLICIES SEEKING MILITARY SUPERIORITY, INCITING AN ARMS RACE, AND INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES;
--CONDEMNED THE U.S. FOR DECLARING VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE WORLD "AREAS OF VITAL INTEREST" AND PUTTING MILITARY, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE ON THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES;
--CONFIRMED THEIR UNSWERVING SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLES OF INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENTS, "REAL" NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND PEACE-LOVING FORCES AGAINST IMPERIALIST POLICIES.

6. (U) ON AFRICA, THE SOVIETS AND ETHIOPIA:
--CONFIRMED THEIR STANDARD POLICIES ON THE HORN OF AFRICA;
--CRITICIZED THE US AND OTHER NATO COUNTRIES FOR SUPPORTING SOUTH AFRICA'S INCREASING REPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN MAJORITY;

C O N F I D E N T I A L

--EXPRESSED "COMPLETE SUPPORT" FOR THE ANC;
--CONDEMNED THE "CONTINUING OCCUPATION" OF
NAMIBIA, CALLED FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE
ON THE BASIS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS,
REJECTED ATTEMPTS TO LINK NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE
TO OTHER ISSUES, AND EXPRESSED COMPLETE SUPPORT FOR
SWAPO; AND
--CALLED FOR INCREASED EFFORTS FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE
AFRICA.

7. (U) THE COMMUNIQUE COVERED OTHER ISSUES AS
WELL, INCLUDING:

--CONDEMNING OF U.S. BASING POLICY, MILITARY
PRESENCE, AND EXERCISES IN THE SOUTHWEST ASIA-PERSIAN
GULF-INDIAN OCEAN REGION;
--EXPRESSING "SERIOUS CONCERN" WITH THE MIDDLE
EAST SITUATION CAUSED BY THE ISRAELIS WITH U.S.
SUPPORT;
--PROCLAIMING THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE AFGHAN
PEOPLE;
--EXPRESSING CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION IN
SOUTHEAST ASIA;
--PROCLAIMING THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE NICARAGUAN
PEOPLE AND CONDEMNING U.S. POLICIES IN THE REGION.

8. (C) COMMENT: THE BREADTH AND PROCLAIMED IDENTITY
OF VIEW OF THIS JOINT SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN COMMUNIQUE
IS UNUSUAL. THE SOVIETS AND THE ETHIOPIANS
DECIDED TO USE THE COMMUNIQUE AS A VEHICLE TO
REJECT--FORCEFULLY--PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REGIONAL
INITIATIVE. THE COMMUNIQUE UNDERLINES THE SHARED
PROPOSITIONS THAT

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, ET, UR

SUBJECT: MENGISTU VISIT TO USSR

(A) THE UNITED STATES, NOT THE SOVIET UNION OR THE
"LEGITIMATE" GOVERNMENTS OF THE FIVE COUNTRIES
NAMED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR
REGIONAL TENSIONS; (B) NEITHER THE SOVIET UNION NOR
THE GOVERNMENTS OF

ANY OF THE FIVE COUNTRIES ARE
PREPARED TO RESOLVE REGIONAL ISSUES ON THE BASIS
PROPOSED BY THE PRESIDENT; AND (C) THE STRUGGLE OF
EACH OF THE FIVE--AND OF THE SOVIET UNION--IS
MORE OR LESS AGAINST A COMMON THREAT ORCHESTRATED
BY THE U.S.

9. THE RED CARPET PROTOCOLARY TREATMENT
ACCORDED MENGISTU AND THE CONTENTS OF THE
COMMUNIQUE IMPLY THAT THE TWO SIDES MANAGED TO RESOLVE
OR DOWNPLAY DIFFERENCES ON BILATERAL RELATIONS.
MENGISTU WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE MORE SATISFIED
WITH THIS VISIT THAN HE WAS FOLLOWING A COOL

C O N F I D E N T I A L

This may be a
bit overstated
— no direct reference
to Reagan proposals
in communique —
"rejection" was
implicit

SOVIET RECEPTION LAST YEAR. IT REMAINS TO BE
SEEN, HOWEVER, WHETHER THIS WARM RHETORIC
WILL TRANSLATE INTO ADDITIONAL SOVIET ASSISTANCE
TO ETHIOPIA.

HARTMAN

END OF MESSAGE

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REF PM111543 ADVANCE FYI

TAKE 1 OF 4 -- SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED

<> <><>PM111621<><>

MOSCOW IZVESTIYA IN RUSSIAN 12 NOV 85 MORNING EDITION PP 1, 5

((UNATTRIBUTED "JOINT SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN COMMUNIQUE"))

((TEXT)) MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF ETHIOPIA (WPE), CHAIRMAN OF THE PROVISIONAL MILITARY ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL (PMAC), AND

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA, WAS IN THE SOVIET UNION 31 OCTOBER-9 NOVEMBER ON A FRIENDLY WORKING VISIT AT THE INVITATION OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM, AND SOVIET GOVERNMENT. THE ETHIOPIAN LEADER AND THE PERSONS ACCOMPANYING HIM WERE GIVEN A CORDIAL RECEPTION REFLECTING THE CLOSE FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CPSU AND THE WPE AND THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF THE USSR AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA.

MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM LAID WREATHS AT THE V.I. LENIN MAUSOLEUM AND THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER NEAR THE KREMLIN WALL AND ATTENDED THE CELEBRATIONS IN MOSCOW IN CONNECTION WITH THE 68TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

A MEETING AND FRUITFUL TALKS ON A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES

TOOK PLACE BETWEEN M.S. GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AND MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WPE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CHAIRMAN OF THE PMAC, AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA.

TAKING PART IN THE TALKS WERE:

ON THE SOVIET SIDE -- A.A. GROMYKO, MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO AND CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM; N.I. RYZHKOV, MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO AND CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS; E.A. SHEVARDNADZE, MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO AND USSR FOREIGN MINISTER; B.N. PONOMAREV, CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO AND SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE; S.L. SOKOLOV, CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO AND USSR DEFENSE MINISTER; AND G.N. ANDREYEV, USSR AMBASSADOR TO SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA;

ON THE ETHIOPIAN SIDE -- ADIS TEDLA, MEMBER OF THE WPE CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CENTRALIZED PLANNING; ASHAGRE YIGLETU, SECRETARY OF THE WPE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CHIEF OF THE WPE CENTRAL COMMITTEE INTERNATIONAL SECTION; TEKEZE-SHOA AYTENFISO, MEMBER OF THE WPE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND MINISTER OF MINES AND ENERGY; GOSHU WOLDE, MEMBER OF THE WPE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND FOREIGN MINISTER; WOLLIE CHEKOL, MEMBER OF THE WPE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND MINISTER OF

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PAGE 0012

FOREIGN TRADE; AND NESIBU TAYE, ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE USSR. MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM ALSO AHD MEETINGS WITH N.I. RYZHKOV, MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO AND CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, AND E.A. SHEVARDNADZE, MEMBER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO AND USSR FOREIGN MINISTER.

IN THE COURSE OF THE MEETINGS AND TALKS, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, AND COMPLETE UNITY OF VIEWS, M.S. GORBACHEV SPOKE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S CREATIVE LABOR IN THE COURSE OF THE CPSU'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE 27TH CONGRESS. MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM GAVE A BRIEFING ON THE WORK BEING DONE IN ETHIOPIA TO IMPLEMENT THE DECISIONS OF THE FIRST WPE CONGRESS. QUESTIONS OF BILATERAL SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS WERE EXAMINED AND THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS ON THE PRESENT-DAY SITUATION IN THE WORLD.

THE SOVIET SIDE GAVE A HIGH ASSESSMENT OF THE SUCCESSES ACHIEVED BY THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR VANGUARD -- THE WPE -- IN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL BUILDING AND IN THE DEFENSE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND REVOLUTIONARY GAINS. ETHIOPIA'S ACTIVE ANTI-IMPERIALIST COURSE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WAS NOTED.

THE ETHIOPIAN SIDE WELCOMED THE COURSE ELABORATED BY THE CPSU OF ACCELERATING THE PACE OF THE USSR'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE SOVIET UNION'S DECISIVE ROLE IN THE CAUSE OF UPHOLDING UNIVERSAL PEACE AND OPPOSING THE AGGRESSIVE INTRIGUES OF IMPERIALISM, WHICH THREATENS MANKIND WITH NUCLEAR WAR, WAS STRESSED.

~~(MORE)~~ T2 NOV IRONTON/RL 11/1653Z NOV

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<> REF <><>PM111621<><> MOSCOW IZVESTIYA RUSSIAN 12 NOV///WAR, WAS STRESSED.
TAKE 2 OF 4 -- SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED
PM111647

((TEXT)) THE ETHIOPIAN SIDE EXPRESSED PROFOUND GRATITUDE TO THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, AND THE PEOPLE OF THE USSR FOR THE EFFECTIVE AID AND ASSISTANCE IN RESOLVING THE TASKS FACING THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION, IN PARTICULAR AS REGARDS OVERCOMING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE DROUGHT.

THE TWO COUNTRIES' LEADERS NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THE STEADY DEVELOPMENT AND DEEPENING OF SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS, WHICH REST ON THE FIRM FOUNDATIONS OF THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION SIGNED BY THE SIDES IN 1978.

THE TWO SIDES NOTE THE FRUITFULNESS AND GROWING SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CLOSE TIES BETWEEN THE CPSU AND THE WPE AND DISPLAY THE JOINT DESIRE TO DEVELOP AND STRENGTHEN THESE TIES, REGARDING THEM AS A VERY IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF BILATERAL REALTIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA.

MENTION WAS MADE OF THE POSITIVE RESULTS OF THE WORK OF THE ROUTINE SIXTH SESSION OF THE SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMISSION ON QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND TRADE AND OF THE TWO SIDES' DESIRE TO FURTHER DEEPEN THEIR ECONOMIC TIES ON THE BASIS OF THE LONG-TERM PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION. THE SIDES REAFFIRMED THEIR READINESS TO CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AND STRENGTHEN BILATERAL TIES IN THE SPHERES OF EDUCATION, CULTURE, HEALTH CARE, AND SPORT AND THROUGH PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS.

THE SIDES EXCHANGED OPINIONS ON A WIDE RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND REAFFIRMED THE COMPLETE IDENTITY OF THE TWO COUNTRIES' POSITIONS ON THE MAIN QUESTIONS OF THE PRESENT DAY. THE MUTUAL DESIRE WAS EXPRESSED FOR REGULAR CONSULTATIONS, ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WITH A VIEW TO PROMOTING THE RESOLUTION OF THE MAIN TASK OF TODAY -- THAT OF AVERTING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR AND RADICALLY IMPROVING THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN THE WORLD.

THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA RESOLUTELY CONDEMNED THE COURSE PURSUED BY THE IMPERIALIST STATES OF ACHIEVING MILITARY SUPERIORITY BY WHIPPING UP THE ARMS RACE AND EXTENDING IT TO OUTER SPACE AND THE POLICY OF DIKTAT AND OPEN INTERFERENCE IN SOVEREIGN STATES' INTERNAL AFFAIRS, CONTRARY TO THE FUNDAMENTAL NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE PRINCIPLES ENSHRINED IN THE UN CHARTER. EMPHASIS WAS PLACED ON THE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE OF STRENGTHENING COLLABORATION AMONG ALL PROGRESSIVE AND PEACE-LOVING FORCES IN THE STRUGGLE TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, ELIMINATE THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR, CREATE A CLIMATE OF MUTUAL TRUST AND CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION AMONG STATES, AND ENSURE THE PEOPLES' RIGHTS TO INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

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THE SIDES DENOUNCED THE POLICY OF IMPERIALIST CIRCLES, ABOVE ALL THE UNITED STATES, WHICH ARBITRARILY CALL VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE WORLD SPHERE SOF THEIR "VITAL INTERESTS" AND BRING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURE TO BEAR ON INDEPENDENT AFRICAN, ASIAN, AND LATIN AMERICAN STATES.

ETH approves everything

SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA WHOLLY SUPPORTS THE SOVIET UNION'S CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE INITIATIVES AIMED AT CURBING THE ARMS RACE AND ELIMINATING THE THREAT OF WAR. THE ETHIOPIAN SIDE FULLY SUPPORTS THE NEW INITIATIVES PUT FORWARD BY M.S. GORBACHEV DURING HIS VISIT TO FRANCE AS A CONSTRUCTIVE STEP PRESENTING THE POSSIBILITY OF A TURN IN THE DIRECTION OF RADICALLY IMPROVING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND STRENGTHENING THE SECURITY OF ALL PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES. ETHIOPIA APPROVES THE USSR'S PRINCIPLED POSITION AT THE SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS IN GENEVA AND WELCOMES KTHE PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY THE USSR FOR EXAMINATION BY THE 40TH UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE PEACEFUL EXPLORATION OF OUTER SPACE IN CONDITIONS OF ITS NONMILITARIZATION.

SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA DECLARED ITS SUPPORT FOR THE APPEAL MADE IN SOFIA BY THE WARSAW PACT STATES, URGING THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND OTHER COUNTRIES TO POOL THEIR EFFORTS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE THREAT OF TOTAL ANNIHILATION THAT CONFRONTS MANKIND AND TO RESOLVE ALL UNSETTLED INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS BY POLITICAL MEANS, THROUGH TALKS AND PRODUCTIVE DIALOGUE, ON THE BASIS OF CONSIDERATION OF THE SIDES' LEGITIMATE INTERESTS.

THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA CONFIRMED THEIR INVARIABLE SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE INDEPENDENT STATES, THE GENUINE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND PEACE-LOVING FORCES AGAINST THE POLICY OF IMPERIALIST DIKTAT, FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, AND FOR THE PEOPLES' INALIENABLE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENTLY CHOOSE THEIR OWN PATH OF DEVELOPMENT.

(MORE) 12 NOV FI/CD/OWEN/PC 11/1709Z NOV

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<> REF <><>PM111621<><> MOSCOW IZVESTIYA RUSSIAN 12 NOV///PATH OF DEVELOPMENT
TAKE 3 OF 4 -- SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED
PM111701

((TEXT)) THE SIDES PLACED ON RECORD THE INCREASE IN THE
NONALIGNED MOVEMENT'S ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, THE
PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE
INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE. SUPPORT WAS EXPRESSED FOR THE DECISIONS
OF THE LUANDA CONFERENCE OF NONALIGNED COUNTRIES' FOREIGN MINISTERS,
AND IT WAS HOPED THAT THE FORTHCOMING 8TH CONFERENCE OF
NONALIGNED COUNTRIES' STATE AND GOVERNMENT HEADS IN HARARE
(ZIMBABWE) WOULD BE A SUCCESS.

GREAT ATTENTION WAS DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE
SITUATION IN AFRICA. THE SIDES NOTED THAT IMPERIALISM IS STILL
THE CHIEF OBSTACLE IN THE WAY OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES' FINAL
LIBERATION. EMPHASIS WAS PLACED ON THE GROWING NEED TO ACTIVELY
COUNTER THE INTRIGUES BY IMPERIALIST AND REACTIONARY FORCES
AIMED AT WEAKENING AND UNDERMINING AFRICAN UNITY, KINDLING DISCORD
AMONG THE CONTINENT'S STATES, AND GENERATING AN ATMOSPHERE OF
DISTRUST BETWEEN THEM.

HAVING EXAMINED THE SITUATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, THE
SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA CONFIRMED THEIR WELL-KNOWN
POSITION IN FAVOR OF CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING
AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS IN THE REGION ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT
BY ALL STATES IN THE REGION FOR SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY AND THE PRINCIPLES OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS,
NONINTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND RENUNCIATION OF
TERRITORIAL CLAIMS. THE SOVIET UNION EXPRESSED A HIGH OPINION
OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA'S PERSISTENT EFFORTS AIMED AT DETENTE IN
THIS REGION OF TENSION AND AT THE ESTABLISHMENTS AND MAINTENANCE
OF RELATIONS OF GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS AND COOPERATION WITH THE
COUNTRIES OF THE REGION.

DURING THE DISCUSSION THE SIDES DEVOTED A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION
TO THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHICH IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY
DANGEROUS. WITH THE PATRONAGE OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER
NATO COUNTRIES THE PRETORIA REGIME IS STEPPING UP REPRESSION
AGAINST THE AFRICAN MAJORITY AND IS STUBBORNLY CONTINUING
TO EXPAND ITS AGGRESSION IN THE REGION. BOTH SIDES DECLARED THEIR
SOLIDARITY WITH THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, STRUGGLING
TO ELIMINATE THE INHUMAN APARTHEID SYSTEM, AND EXPRESSED FULL
SUPPORT FOR THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN ITS STRUGGLE TO
CREATE A UNITED, FREE, AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN THE COUNTRY.
TOGETHER WITH ALL PEACE-LOVING PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, THEY ARE
DEMANDING AN END TO THE RACIST REGIME'S BARBAROUS ACTS OF REPRESSION
AND ITS POLICY OF STATE TERRORISM AND ENDLESS ACTS OF AGGRESSION
AGAINST ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND OTHER "FRONTLINE STATES.

THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA CONDEMNED THE CONTINUING

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PAGE 0006

UNLAWFUL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA.
BOTH SIDES ADVOCATE THE IMMEDIATE GRANTING OF GENUINE INDEPENDENCE
TO THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND REJECT ATTEMPTS, IN DEFIANCE OF THE
UN SECURITY COUNCIL DECISIONS, TO LINK THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIAN
INDEPENDENCE TO IRRELEVANT QUESTIONS. THE SIDES CONFIRMED THEIR
FULL SUPPORT FOR THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION
AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE.
THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA CALL FOR THE TOTAL
INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION OF THE CRIMINAL APARTHEID REGIME AND
FOR THE APPLICATION OF COMPULSORY AND ALL-EMBRACING SANCTIONS
AGAINST IT.

(MORE) 12 NOV CD/OWEN/JC 11/1727Z NOV

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<> REF <><>PM111621<><> MOSCOW IZVESTIYA RUSSIAN 12 NOV///SANCTIONS AGAINST IT.
TAKE 4 OF 4 -- SOVIET-ETHIOPIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED
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((TEXT)) THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA ASSESS
HIGHLY THE ROLE OF THE OAU IN THE AFRICAN PEOPLES' STRUGGLE
AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, AND RACISM AND FOR THE
CONSOLIDATION OF THEIR COUNTRIES' POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
INDEPENDENCE.

THE SIDES STATED THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR THE AFRICAN STATES'
EFFORTS TO SAFEGUARD THEIR AUTONOMOUS AND INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT
WITHOUT OUTSIDE DIKTAT OR INTERFERENCE AND TO TURN AFRICA INTO A
CONTINENT OF PEACE FREE FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND FOREIGN MILITARY
BASES. IN THIS CONNECTION THE SIDES EXPRESSED THEMSELVES IN FAVOR
OF ACTIVATING THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES' EFFORTS TO TURN AFRICA INTO
A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE.

THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA DENOUNCED THE EFFORTS
WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES ARE MAKING TO BUILD
UP THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE AND EXPAND THE NETWORK OF THEIR MILITARY
BASES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN BASIN WITH A VIEW TO STEPPING UP
INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE LITTORAL STATES AND PREPARING
NEW BRIDGEHEADS OF AGGRESSION. EMPHASIS WAS PLACED ON THE DANGER
PRESENTED TO THE PEACE, SECURITY, AND STABILITY OF THE COUNTRIES
OF THE REGION BY THE PROVOCATIVE MILITARY MANEUVERS WHICH THE
UNITED STATES IS CARRYING OUT IN THE RED SEA AND PERSIAN GULF
REGIONS. THE SIDES REAFFIRMED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE NONALIGNED
STATES' PROPOSAL TO TURN THE INDIAN OCEAN INTO A ZONE OF PEACE
AND TO CONVENE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE MATTER IN THE
FIRST HALF OF 1986.

THE SIDES VOICED SERIOUS CONCERN AT THE CONSERVATION OF
TENSION IN THE NEAR EAST AS A RESULT OF THE AGGRESSIVE POLICY
PURSUED BY ISRAEL WITH THE UNITED STATES' DIRECT SUPPORT. IT
WAS EMPHASIZED THAT JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THIS REGION CAN ONLY
BE ACHIEVED ON THE BASIS OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI TROOPS FROM
ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED SINCE 1967, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE INALIENABLE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE,
INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE CREATION OF
THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT STATE, AND ALSO THE ENSURING OF THE RIGHT OF
ALL STATES OF THIS REGION TO INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE AND DEVELOPMENT.
THE ATTAINMENT OF SUCH A SETTLEMENT IS POSSIBLE BY COLLECTIVE
EFFORTS WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL INTERESTED SIDES, INCLUDING
THE PLO, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
THE NEAR EAST.

HAVING STATED THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE DRA'S STRUGGLE AGAINST
FOREIGN AGGRESSION, THE SIDES EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT THE
HALTING OF INTERFERENCE IN AFGHANISTAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS IS ONE
OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PREREQUISITES FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF

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PAGE 0003

PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA.

THE SIDES EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE TENSION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND EXPRESSED THEMSELVES IN SUPPORT OF THE WELL-KNOWN CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS OF VIETNAM, LAOS, AND CAMBODIA ON A SETTLEMENT OF THE REGION'S PROBLEMS WHICH WOULD HELP TO TURN IT INTO A ZONE OF PEACE, GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS, AND COOPERATION.

THE SOVIET UNION AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA EXPRESSED THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE WHO ARE HEROICALLY DEFENDING THEIR RIGHT TO FREE AND INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT. BOTH SIDES RESOLUTELY DENOUNCED THE AGGRESSIVE U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

THE SIDES CONFIRMED THEIR LOYALTY TO THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND NOTED THE EXCEPTIONAL IMPORTANCE OF THE CONSERVATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THAT ORGANIZATION AS AN IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT OF PEACE. THEY EXPRESSED THE CERTAINTY THAT THE 40TH UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION AND THE HOLDING OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE YEAR WILL HELP TO ENHANCE THE UNITED NATIONS' PRESTIGE AND ROLE AND WILL SERVE AS AN ADDITIONAL INCENTIVE IN MOBILIZING THE EFFORTS OF THE PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE UN STATES AIMED AT ELIMINATING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR, HALTING THE ARMS RACE, AND STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

THE SOVIET AND ETHIOPIAN SIDES EXPRESSED PROFOUND SATISFACTION AT THE RESULTS OF THE EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE AND EXPRESSED THEMSELVES IN FAVOR OF CONTINUING AND EXPANDING THE PRACTICE OF REGULAR CONSULTATIONS, INCLUDING AT SUMMIT LEVEL. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THIS VISIT WILL BE AN IMPORTANT NEW MILESTONE ON THE PATH OF THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE RELATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CPSU AND THE WPE AND THE USSR AND SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA.

AT THE END OF THE VISIT COMRADE MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WPE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CHAIRMAN OF THE PMAC, AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA, EXPRESSED THANKS TO THE CPSU AND THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION FOR THE WARM, FRIENDLY HOSPITALITY OFFERED TO HIM AND THOSE ACCOMPANYING HIM DURING THEIR STAY IN THE USSR. COMRADE MENGISTU CONVEYED AN INVITATION TO COMRADE M.S. GORBACHEV TO VISIT SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA. THE INVITATION WAS ACCEPTED WITH THANKS.

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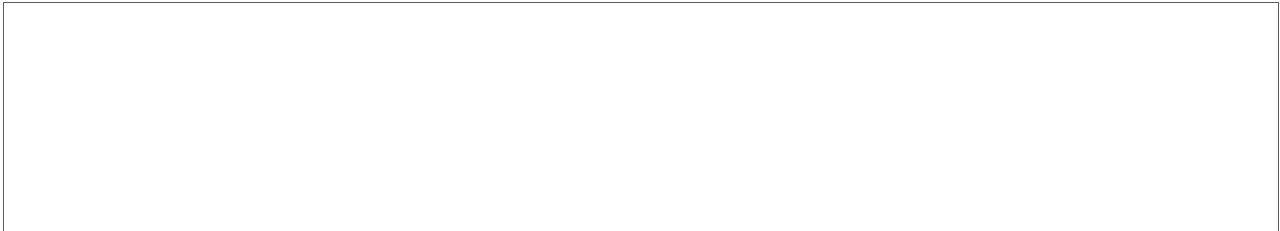
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Talking Points for the DCI
Soviet Policy Jewish Emigration

In the run-up to the US-Soviet meeting in Geneva, the Soviet regime has been taking a two track approach on Jewish emigration.

- In public and diplomatic channels, the regime has attempted to warn the US away from the issue, noting that a US approach at Geneva would be futile and a waste of time



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Though Moscow has undertaken no concrete steps to alter Jewish emigration policy, the hints of forthcoming changes have achieved some short term gains for Moscow--including modification of World Jewish Council criticism of Soviet policy. Gorbachev probably calculates there are additional gains in allowing greater Jewish emigration to Israel.

- Higher Jewish emigration holds the possibility that Jewish support for restrictions on US-Soviet trade will be eroded and that Jewish lobbying on behalf of Soviet Jews will decrease.
- At home, Gorbachev can defuse the emigration issue by holding out the promise of higher emigration in return for conformity. The regime has effectively used the emigration issue in the past to divide the dissident movement.
- Greater emigration and some concessions on other human rights issues could preemptively disarm international critics and provide more freedom to move against dissidents in the future.



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Moscow has not yet moved ahead on Jewish emigration with anything more than symbolic gestures. The contrasting public and private signals probably reflect Gorbachev's ambiguity in dealing with this controversial issue. While he rejects direct US efforts to pressure him on this issue, he may believe that US concerns for emigration gives him some potential leverage.

- Gorbachev undoubtedly assumes the issue will come up at Geneva and from all the reporting available, is preparing to counterattack aggressively.
- He will, however, also be likely to use the occasion to



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assess what long term gains can be realized by showing
more flexibility. [REDACTED]

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13 November 1985

SOVA

Bi-lateral Economic Topics for Todays Cabinet Meeting on US-Soviet Relations1. North Pacific Air Safety

- No agreement yet.
- US, Japan, USSR representatives currently working out implementation procedures for setting up co-operative monitoring of flights in North Pacific area and for communicating among the 3 countries' Air Traffic Control Centers.
- Problem area in current discussions is how to handle flights that have actually strayed over Soviet territory.
- 50 percent chance of reaching agreement by Friday.

2. Civil Aviation (Bi-lateral Air Service)

- Round of discussions held in October were unsuccessful.
- State trying to determine if another round of talks would be useful.
- Current Soviet offer not financially attractive to PanAm. State trying to clarify if Soviets will be willing to make more attractive offer.
- Soviets have linked progress on establishing respective consulates in Kiev and NY to resumption of bi-lateral air service.

3. General Commercial Interests

- State informs us that no specific issues being contemplated for Geneva talks.
- State would support more non-strategic bi-lateral trade.
- Moscow may be interested in expanding US-Soviet Trade especially joint ventures.
- Soviets anxious to conclude contracts to coincide with Reagan-Gorbachev meeting or with December meeting of Trade and Economic Council.

4. US-Soviet Boundary Dispute

- Issue involves longstanding dispute over the precise location of US-USSR boundary in Bering Sea.
- Jurisdiction over important fisheries, and possibly petroleum reserves at stake. Access to strategic locations for maritime surveillance activities also important.
- Maritime boundary talks held last month in Washington. Soviets tabled new proposal which has promise, but problems with specifics.
- Issue not likely to come up at Geneva.

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13 Nov 1985

Possible Soviet Reaction to a Proposal to
Establish Risk Reduction Centers

The Soviet response to any US proposal to establish risk reduction centers will depend upon a number of considerations, including their assessment of the potential impact of such an agreement on the overall US approach to arms control. (S)

The Soviets have responded negatively to such proposals in the past. Last year, they rejected the US idea of a joint military communications link. They were willing to discuss the US proposal for improving emergency communications in case of a nuclear incident involving unauthorized third parties and cited the Standing Consultative Commission as the appropriate forum. (S)

Soviet coolness toward such proposals probably reflects several considerations:

- Concern that such an arrangement might somehow increase the United States' intelligence-gathering capabilities.
- Concern that such an arrangement could, in a crisis, increase the risk of key decisions being made or communicated outside the normal Soviet chain of command and without authorization of the highest party authorities.
- Concern that a positive response to such a US initiative would undermine Soviet propaganda efforts to portray the United States as generally impeding progress on arms control, a consideration that prompted them to downplay publicity surrounding conclusion of last year's agreement to upgrade the Direct Communications Link. (S)

These considerations are likely to lead the Soviets to dispute the need for risk control centers. They are likely to argue that the functions of such centers are being performed adequately by existing mechanisms, including the Direct Communications Link, the Standing Consultative Commission, and other bilateral and multilateral forums. (S)

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Before rejecting such a proposal out of hand, however, the Soviets would weigh its possible advantages:

- They apparently recognize the need to maintain working-level cooperation on the issue of improving crisis communications, as demonstrated by their agreement early last year to resume negotiations on upgrading the Direct Communications Link despite the overall chill in bilateral relations at that time.
- While concerned that any new agreement could benefit the US administration politically, they also would consider the possibility that it would increase pressure on the administration to be conciliatory on other arms control issues by raising public expectations of progress.
- They might view the opening of discussions on risk reduction centers as an additional opportunity for Soviet propagandists to portray the USSR as sincerely interested in reducing bilateral tensions. (S)

These considerations suggest the Soviets will be less likely to reject a proposal to establish risk control centers if:

- It avoids features that would exacerbate Soviet security concerns, such as joint staffing, and defines the initial functions of the centers as relatively narrow and specialized.
- It is characterized as reaffirming the 1971 agreement on measures to reduce the risk of nuclear war and as a logical next step in upgrading and expanding the crisis management capabilities of the Direct Communications Link and the Standing Consultative Commission, rather than as a new and unique institution.
- It is characterized as a step that would improve the atmosphere for progress in other areas of arms control, something in which the Soviets profess to be deeply interested. (S)

The likelihood of a Soviet rejection of the proposal might be reduced further if it were linked to the Soviet proposal for a "code of conduct" for nuclear powers that General Secretary Chernenko made in March 1984 and that other Soviet leaders, including Foreign Minister Gromyko, have repeated. Along with a list of standard Soviet propaganda proposals, the "code of conduct" includes a provision for "urgent consultations" among nuclear powers

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in a situation where there is danger of a nuclear conflict.* Characterization of the US initiative as a response in part to that proposal could increase its attractiveness to the Soviets.

*Chernenko made the proposal in his election speech of 2 March. After listing a series of arms control issues on which progress could lead to a "breakthrough" in US-Soviet relations, he called for joint recognition by the nuclear powers of six "norms" that should regulate their relations and stated that the USSR was ready to reach agreement on making them mandatory. The six "norms" are:

- To regard the prevention of nuclear war as the main goal of each states' foreign policy, to prevent situations that threaten nuclear conflict, and to hold urgent consultations in case such a situation should arise.
- To reject the "propaganda" of either global or limited nuclear war.
- To undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.
- Under no circumstances to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries having no such weapons on their territory, to respect the status of nuclear-weapons-free zones already created and to encourage their creation elsewhere.
- To prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form: not to give such weapons or control of them to anybody, not to deploy them in countries where there are no such weapons, and not to spread the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space.
- To reduce nuclear weapons step-by-step, on the basis of equal security, until all types have been completely eliminated. (U)

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